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Items 60, 68 and 137 of the
preliminary list*
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN
STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 15 April 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the "Memorandum of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic on European Security", which was conveyed to the Ambassadors of the States members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and to the Director of the CSCE secretariat at Prague during presentation in the Federal Assembly (parliament) of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, by Mr. Jiří Dienstbier, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, on 9 April 1991.

I would be most grateful if you could kindly have the texts of the present letter and of the enclosed Memorandum distributed as a document of the General Assembly, under items 60, 68 and 137 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Václav MIKULKA
Counsellor
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

* A/46/50.

ANNEX

Memorandum of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic on European Security

One year ago the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic came up with a proposal to establish the European Security Commission as a permanent consultative and, later, coordinative all-European platform for questions of security on the continent. The proposal was based upon the situation that was created following the fundamental changes in Europe, especially in its central and eastern parts. A number of ideas in this proposal were in harmony with the conceptions of other countries and contributed to the birth of new institutions and mechanisms of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at the Paris summit in 1990.

Much has changed over the past year. By overcoming confrontation and the division of the continent, conditions for the creation of a new Europe have been established. The nascent possibilities, however, bring along new risks. These stem especially from the different levels of economic and social development of European countries and also from revealed nationalistic problems. It is mostly the young democracies that are threatened, and so too is the security of the whole of Europe.

The best way of reliably safeguarding stability and development in the Europe of tomorrow is through a harmonious interaction between the key institutions of the European security structure - CSCE, the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Communities, the Western European Union and the Council of Europe, in full respect for their own respective missions. The nature of security on the European continent is manifold, and manifold also are the sources of its possible endangerment, which necessitates that various forms of interaction between European institutions be sought. The common denominator of such cooperation must be respect for the legitimate security interests of all European countries, the United States of America and Canada. In the search for an expression of European security, the CSCE process is the only one that offers both an all-European platform and a transatlantic link of solidarity. The necessary impulses should be generated therefrom.

A security system for a new Europe is a goal to which various roads may lead. One of them should be the qualitatively new bilateral treaties concluded between a number of the CSCE member countries. They could therefore contain the provisions that the contracting parties are striving for the creation of an all-European security structure and are establishing mechanisms of bilateral consultation that could lead to the application of joint measures.

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic supports the idea that in particular the following possibilities offered by the CSCE process in the field of security should be made use of even before the Helsinki follow-up meeting in 1992.

The agenda of the Berlin meeting of the CSCE Council at the level of ministers of foreign affairs in June 1991 should include the question of new security structures in Europe. Primarily, an emergency mechanism should be worked out so that it may be possible to convene an extraordinary CSCE session without delay. Before the Helsinki follow-up meeting one more meeting of ministers of foreign affairs and perhaps also a meeting of ministers of defence should take place in order to consider further cooperation on the field of security.

The Conflict Prevention Centre at Vienna should, by the joint efforts of all 34 participating countries and as soon as possible, fulfil its mission of preventing situations threatening the stability and security in Europe. One of the basic conditions of success of further negotiations on disarmament and confidence-building in Europe is the expeditious entry into force of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and its faithful implementation.

Security in Europe is indivisible and for this reason the Helsinki summit in 1992 should reach the conclusion that this continent needs a permanent political body operating in the CSCE framework and capable of reacting to topical issues. As for the future, the mechanism of European security will have to be built in such a way as to allow for the use of the existing institutions as well as of the all-European forums convened to solve the critical problems of migration, national minorities, ecology, power engineering and others.

In Paris last November the highest representatives of the CSCE countries founded the first institutions of the Helsinki process. This step has become the beginning of the road leading to the establishment of new cooperative security structures on the continent. But development has to go on. A primary role should be played by the new all-European disarmament forum. The functions of the Conflict Prevention Centre should be considerably extended beyond the framework of military measures and the CSCE procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes should be strengthened. An all-European verification system for compliance with disarmament agreements is lacking. It will be necessary to take indispensable measures in the field of registration and, later, control of the sale and transfer of conventional arms and equipment.

It should be possible to consider the idea of gradually building multinational armed forces of the CSCE member States by means of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

All these and other confidence-building measures among States cannot be implemented except in close interaction with the existing security institutions.

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is convinced that the Helsinki process will fulfil its historic mission only if it continues to stem from the connection between democracy, human rights and indivisible security for all. It is through that connection that this process can gradually assume the functions guiding the strengthening of security both in Europe as a whole and in its individual regions.